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593 also with those of your grandparents, of your elder brothers and sisters,
577 and so forth; in short, you should obey any relative of yours who
576 happens to be older than you are. Have you ever heard of a dutiful Isneg child disregarding even the smallest wishes of his parents and elder relatives? Would it not be utter presumption on your part to prefer your own will to that of your elders? If you have relatives around that are younger than you are, brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, cousins, and so on, then you also have a right to tell them what you want, and you are perfectly right in shifting the heaviest burdens upon their shoulders; but your own elders, listen to them. Obey your elders, and make younger people obey you, that is the Isneg law."

593 When going from Butaw to Ilocos in 1926, I personally assisted at
577 such a shifting of the burden to a younger one's shoulders, which was
576 a practical fulfilment of Isneg law and a very literal one at that. It
888 happened in the case of old *Balúkat*, who together with his son, already a married man, accompanied me on that journey and carried my baggage. Before we started, I had divided the whole load into two almost equal parts, in order to avoid all altercations and lest we suffer any unnecessary delay. But, before we left Butaw, *Balúkat* took away a generous portion of his own share and shifted it to that of his son. Later on, probably convinced that his own package was still a little heavy, he again took off a few articles and solemnly transferred them to the load of his son. On both occasions *Balúkat* gave us the reason for his conduct: the other man was his son and was still young and strong, while he himself was fast becoming old; and again, on both occasions, the younger man complied with the utmost submission and without showing the smallest sign of vexation, taking everything for granted and never losing the smile on his face.

"You should not only obey your parents, but also respect them. Now, with reference to this latter duty, remember that its scope is much wider than that of simple obedience. Everybody who is older than you deserves your respect, and so you owe it not only to your own relatives, but also to all persons who may be considered as your elders, even though they be not in the least related to you. Would it not be brazen effrontery on your part to be at all disrespectful to an old man or an old woman? It is true that sometimes they have certain whims that may perhaps look ridiculous to you, but although you should be inclined to laugh at their ravings, never appear to be doing so. If an older man or woman scold you, be careful never to raise your voice against him, but keep quiet, or if possible excuse

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basílig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakáy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxároń*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *urád*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

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of the girl's parents, or if he is a married man, both husband and wife remain where they are after the *lablabág* ceremony, namely in the house of the husband or in that of his parents.

C. FAMILY LIFE

It is not rare to find two or more Isneg families living in one and the same house, as these are usually very roomy. And so it may take a long time before any of the married sons attempt to live elsewhere. This is also a boon to the old people, of course, as in this way they always find a home for their old age with one of their married children.

From now on the young wife will have little time for pleasure, and, although it would be wrong to call her a slave, in our eyes at least she will be leading the life of a drudge. She will be the first to begin work and the last to finish it. Every day she will have to prepare the meals and to clean the dishes; most of her mornings, if not her entire days, will be passed in the field; and when coming back home in the afternoon, she will have to comply with her usual household duties: pound the rice or grind the corn, and feed the hogs. Most of the time she will have to nurse a baby while attending to her other work, not that the little ones come in such quick succession, as usually at least a year and a half elapses between the birth of two children, and very often one or more of them die in infancy, but because the time of nursing is not confined to the first year of her babe: even children two and three years old may be found occasionally partaking of their mother's milk and using it as a supplementary food.

The husband on the contrary will find his married life to be very little different from what he had been used to before. His life may perhaps even appear lighter to him now than it was before he contracted marriage, as he will be mostly his own master, and he will not pass so many sleepless nights as when, as a young man, he was assiduously courting the girls, a custom that plays havoc with the health of a good many Isneg boys.

1. Domestic Relationships

The Isneg husband is the head of the family, and ultimate decisions are always taken by him; nevertheless the woman is no unimportant entity in the government of the house. An Isneg man rarely transacts any important business without the consent of the women folk, and he is usually humble and obedient at the smallest hint of his

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587 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any
888 length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their
887 home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general
171 with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the
587 death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

3. *Divorce*

586 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce,
684 and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is
684 not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his
837 wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man
684 is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the
461 division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-